

D. Barry.

THE
REVOLUTION, &c.

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19

THE
R E V O L U T I O N

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Printed for J. DEBRETT, (Successor to Mr. ALMON) opposite
Burlington-House, in Piccadilly.

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T H E

R E V O L U T I O N .

THE Revolution in the Government of Great Britain, or, as it is commonly called, the change of the British Ministers in the month of March 1782, is one of the most splendid epochs in the history of these islands. The victories of former days, in the reigns of Edward and Henry, of Anne and George the Second, will not be found, upon examination, to merit a greater applause from the Nation, than the wisdom and courage of those virtuous men, who routed an army of insatiable mercenaries, entrenched behind that prerogative which they had seized and abused, and in the moment of extremest peril, undertook the emancipation of their Country, when reduced to the lowest abyfs of wretchedness and despair.

This important and critical change of Ministers, may, with great propriety, be called a *Revolution*. There is no other word in our language which so fully and properly expresses the force, and extent of the late total defeat of Corruption and Ufur-

pation. It is not less a Revolution of system and government, than that of 1688.

It is true, the person of the King is not changed; but the measures which have dishonoured his name are done away, and it is hoped will never be repeated. Nor is it less a Revolution for the timely and happy preservation of the Sovereign. By our Constitution, a King of England never dies.

The situation to which the late Ministers had reduced the Country, left no alternative to King and People. To persevere was Ruin—to save must be Revolution.

A majority of the House of Commons at length saw this situation; they saw, that notwithstanding the unlimited support which they had given to the King's servants; had granted every request as well for men as money, which those servants had made; had with astonishing patience, which seemed to border upon treachery to their Country, year after year, heard those servants break every promise they had pledged themselves to fulfill: instead of success in any quarter, there was nothing but defeat in every quarter; instead of a navy adequate to face the House of Bourbon, which Lord Sandwich in the hour of his insolence, said, the Minister who had not always ready, would deserve to lose his head;—there was nothing but a shattered fleet of jails and hospitals. They promised a revenue from America, and had lost the country; they promised an increase of trade, and had almost annihilated it; they promised to observe economy, and had practised the most unbounded extravagance. After such repeated and fatal experience of the King's servants, there

there could be only two opinions formed of them;—either that they were in the interest of the enemy; or that they were of such superlative incapacity, it was hazarding the existence of the Country to trust them a day longer. They had abused an unexampled persevering confidence: to an unpardonable ignorance, they had added a criminal negligence in the discharge of their official duties. They treated Parliament in general with hauteur; and the humble solicitations of the People with insolent contempt. And looking upon their offices, as tenures for life, were as indifferent to the consequences of their measures, as to the motives which gave birth to them.

All these circumstances were become so manifest, a majority of the House of Commons felt the indignity of their own situation; they saw, that instead of being the Guardians of their Constituents, they were made the protectors of their most inveterate enemies; they saw with shame their own misconduct; they felt with sorrow the humbled and debilitated state of the Country. They resolved to emancipate the People, and rescue the Nation. They gave their assistance to the Whigs. — Amongst them there were several very respectable Country Gentlemen, who have been usually denominated Tories, who seeing the wreck of their Country, they with a laudable spirit that reflects the highest honour on their Independence of their situations, holding like Umpires the balance in their hands, gave the decision to the Whigs; to the old tried friends of the Constitution and their Country; who had, in every instance of their condemnation of the late measures, produced such marks of political wisdom, and of thorough knowledge of the interests and strength of the empire, as time had ripened every year into so many strong and indisputable

indisputable proofs of sound judgment. These were the men most worthy of the confidence of Parliament. To great personal weight of character and fortune, was added the hereditary purity of those principles and virtues, which saved the country in 1688. The measures of the Cabal in the last century, and of the Interior Cabinet in the present, originated in the same spirit, and were guided by the same principle. The policy of the Court in both periods was the same. The measures of government being hostile to the Constitution, and threatening the annihilation of the State, produced the necessity of both Revolutions. Accomplished as they were by the Whigs, the judicious and sensible part of the Tories, gave their assistance at both periods. In the former it is known, and in the last it is more than presumption, the Tories prevented an accumulation of misery to the empire, by their virtuous, though late, support of the Whigs.

I would here have made an apostrophe to the Tories, but that I recollect one suitable to the occasion, in a very excellent but now scarce pamphlet, called, "*A Letter from Albemarle-street to the Cocoa Tree*," which was written under the eye of a nobleman (I speak from personal knowledge) of great abilities, amiable manners, and unblemished integrity, (the late Earl Temple)* and which was published at the time that several Independent Country Gentlemen gave their assistance to the Whigs, upon the great question respecting General Warrants.

" You

* Upon this occasion I cannot help wishing to undeceive the public respecting an assertion in Lord Chesterfield's letters: In the letter numbered 366, dated August 14, 1766, his Lordship speaking of a certain pamphlet says, "*It was published*

by

" You, the *worthy* Gentlemen of the Cocoa-Tree, have ho-
 " nourably distinguished yourselves among the friends of liberty.
 " Your country with gratitude proclaims your merit; and the
 " voice of liberty will loudly sound your praise. Welcome into
 " the bosom of a free people, and to be numbered amongst the
 " best citizens. You have followed the example of the venera-
 " ble heroes in the cause of liberty, to whose cause, courage in
 " the senate, and the field, we owe the preservation of our con-
 " stitution, the maintenance of our freedom. You have but to
 " persevere in the same glorious path, and your fame will be re-
 " corded with their immortal renown.

" Could you desire a nobler testimony to your services, than
 " one you have? You share the large applauses of so many brave
 " patriots, who on the same trying occasion, with undaunted
 " boldness, contended for the just rights of their Country.
 " Amongst the foremost stands a gallant General, *pointed out for*
 " *supreme command*, by the unanimous voice of his grateful
 " country; in whose manly spirit a well-tempered mixture of
 " generosity

by Lord Temple. It is a mistake. Lord Temple so far from having any concern in writing or publishing the pamphlet alluded to, had not the smallest knowledge of it, until *after* it was printed, and sent to him at Stowe. It was written by Mr. Humphry Cotes. Nothing but his Lordship's affection for his friends, prevented him contradicting the report which prevailed at the time, as well as several passages in the pamphlet, which were not true. Upon the publication of Lord Chesterfield's letters, his Lordship sent for Mr. Doddsley, the publisher, upon the subject; but took no steps to vindicate his character from the infinite number of illiberal aspersions, which had been, for several years, circulated by the malicious, and unceasing industry of the Court faction. Speaking upon this subject, with a person whom he honoured with his confidence, his Lordship said, "Guard me from my friends;—I will guard myself from my enemies."

"generosity and frugality, secures the foundation of true dig-
 "nity: renowned for his prowess, more distinguished yet by his
 "patriotism; who truly possesses that *animus in consulendo liber,*
 "*neque delicto, neque libidini obnoxius:* a brave son of Mars, who
 "follows not alone, but accompanied by many, his spirited com-
 "panions of the war, wherever liberty leads; who pleads her
 "cause at home, with the same ardour that he fought her battles
 "abroad; wreathing the laurels of the camp with the garlands of
 "the senate; who thinks, and shews, that honour is not con-
 "fined to military service, but is equally sacred in all situations,
 "and in all capacities. There is fortitude which despises danger,
 "and defies dismissal; the independent spirit which makes the
 "man; the magnanimity which crowns the hero; the bold sol-
 "dier, the intrepid senator, the fine gentleman, the warlike ad-
 "vocate for liberty. England has a CONWAY, the powers of
 "whose eloquence, inspired by his zeal for the object, animated
 "with the fire of true genius, and furnished with a sound know-
 "ledge of the constitution, at once entertain, ravish, convince,
 "conquer." *Pages 21 and 22, printed in 1764, for J. Almon.*

It was an admirable custom of the antient Egyptians, immedi-
 ately upon the the death of their King, to appoint a trial of his
 conduct and character. This institution, so wisely imagined for
 the instruction and restraint of succeeding Kings, might with
 double propriety be adopted by the people of England, upon
 every change of ministers; for as by law, our Kings can do no
 wrong, the Minister being responsible for every act of the Sove-
 reign, he therefore, upon his removal, may be considered as the
 dead King. It is not until after death that the true characters of
 men come to light, and their survivors receive benefit from the
 discovery.

discovery. With a view of this sort, until a day of trial is appointed, let us take a short retrospect of the Conduct and Character of the last Minister; neither "extenuating his faults, nor "setting down ought in malice."

When Lord North came to the head of the Treasury, we were in perfect peace with all the world. The disputes with America, which a few years before, had threatened such violence to the Mother Country, were happily adjusted by the wise and critical repeal of the stamp act. Our commerce was in the most flourishing state, in every quarter of the globe. New veins of trade were daily opening. The revenue was daily encreasing; insomuch, that the Minister finding such a surplus of money in his hands, even after all the various sums were impressed to every individual, and to every item, that could be enumerated, he voluntarily declared in Parliament, in 1770, he should pay off seventeen millions of the national debt, in a few years. The orders for our goods were larger than our merchants could execute. Like the king's shipwrights, upon extraordinary occasions, our manufacturers were, in many places, obliged to work double tides. All sorts of people were fully employed, from the husbandman to the artist. The value of land was at one and two and thirty years purchase, and increasing.* The poor's rate, which is the barometer

* In answer to this, I shall be told; that rents had risen, and were rising. I admit the fact. But the landlord's property encreasing in proportion with the trader's, was no grievance; it was justice. I remember Sir Cecil Wray stating and explaining this point so clearly, in the House of Commons, about the latter end of March 1775, that I will beg leave to quote his words, as I find them very accurately printed in the Parliamentary Register of that interesting time.

"That if Parliament had the right to tax America, he should be against using that power; as in that case justice would demand, that we should give to America
"rica

barometer of employment, was in general every where low. The Stocks, which are the barometer of the state, were every day rising. The three per cents were at ninety and ninety-one. On the 30th of November 1774, (which was only the year before the American war commenced) the three per cents consol. was at $90 \frac{1}{2}$. On the 3d of December 1774, the same stock was at $91 \frac{1}{4}$. Lord Hawke, who went out in the same year that Lord North came in, left a fleet of ninety ships of the line, besides frigates, all fit for service, except five or six, which only wanted small repair. The yards were stocked with timber and naval stores. The Baltic, the Mediterranean, the Atlantic, &c. were covered with our shipping. Our fleets went out freighted with the manufactures of this country, and returned laden with riches of Europe, Africa, Asia, and America. These immense, and infinite mines of commercial wealth, gave Great Britain such a splendid possession of power and authority, that her name was respected, and her friendship courted, by every nation in the known world.

Such was our situation, when Lord North was appointed Minister of this country.

When

“rica an equal power of paying taxes; that that could only be done by opening
 “the trade of the whole world to America, in common with Britain; a measure
 “which no one could wish to see adopted, as it would then be at the expence of
 “the latter, and a very considerable defalcation ensue in its power of then paying
 “the taxes it now does. That the quantum of taxes are not to be estimated by the
 “sum of money raised, but by the proportion such sum bears to the ability of the
 “persons taxed: For instance, if a farmer who, at the last mentioned æra, paid
 “100l. a year rent, and is now enabled to raise 300l. more than the sum he could
 “then, by the increased price of his goods, he cannot be said to have his rent
 “raised, but rather lowered, if his landlord makes him pay 200l. rent instead of
 “one.” Volume the first, page 391.

When his Lordship was removed from his post of Minister, he left the nation engaged, without an Ally, in a quadruple war, of his own making, or approving, with America, France, Spain, and Holland.

One of the first acts of his Lordship's administration, was to revive the dispute with America; about a tax, which was so small, that the point of advantage to the revenue, is not even pretended to have been the object of it.

The affair of Falkland's Island was concealed, extinguished, and forgiven, that the Minister might have no embarrassment in executing the project of the Court against America. The value of the island was not considerable; but the hostility being committed in time of profound peace, and accompanied with every circumstance of extravagant and aggravated insult, it was unpardonable in the Minister, not vindicating, with spirit, the national character, which all Europe saw was deeply wounded by that violent and flagrant outrage. Shakespear says,

'Tis not to be great,
Never to stir without great argument;
But greatly to find quarrel in a straw
When Honour's at the stake.

The French were suffered to keep quiet possession of Corfica, notwithstanding the King of Sardinia (once our ally) remonstrated against it, and the conquest was a breach of treaty; probably for the same reason that the Spanish insult was not chastised.

D

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The friendship of Russia was lost, by refusing to accept the honourable and advantageous office of Mediator, between the Empress and the Porte, which was first offered to our Ministers, and upon their refusal to the French, who accepted it; and have thereby acquired an interest at the Court of Petersburg.

The friendship of Denmark lost.

The friendship of Sweden, lost; the ancient constitution of that kingdom being changed and made wholly French, which we might have prevented, and in which we had an interest.

But these pursuits might have occupied a part of the attention of the Minister, which was destined to be directed solely to the American war. To the American war all points of honour, all cement of national friendship, all prospects of national advantage, have been surrendered and sacrificed.

During Lord North's administration, the royal marriage bill was passed.

The constitution of the East India Company was altered; by which twelve hundred and forty-six proprietors were disfranchised, without a charge or pretence of delinquency.

The French laws, and the Roman Catholic Religion, were established by act of parliament, in the extended province of Canada.

The particular acts of provocation passed against the protestant colonies in America, I shall forbear to mention distinctly, because

cause the word WAR, which was the *ultimatum*, includes them all.

Repeated attempts towards conciliation with the Colonies, as well before the war commenced, as afterwards, were made by the best, the greatest, and most amiable characters in the nation;* but

* To enumerate all these would be almost impossible; but I will attempt to give a re-capitulation of some of the principle ones.

1773. June 23. Petition for the removal of Governor Hutchinson, and Lieutenant Governor Oliver, of Massachusetts Bay, for betraying their trusts, and the people they governed, and for giving false information.

1774. Oct. 26. First petition from the Congress at Philadelphia.

1775. July 8. Second petition from the Congress at Philadelphia, brought by Mr Penn.

[1775. Jan. 20. Lord Chatham's motion to withdraw the troops from Boston.

Feb. 1. Lord Chatham's bill for settling the troubles in America.

Mar. 22. Mr. Burke's conciliatory propositions.

Mar. 27. Mr. Hartley's conciliatory propositions.

Nov. 16. Mr. Burke's bill for composing the troubles in America.

Dec. 7. Mr. Hartley's second propositions.

1776. Mar. 5. Duke of Richmond's motion for a suspension of hostilities in America.

Mar. 14. Duke of Grafton's motion for the same, &c.

May 10. Mr. Sawbridge's motion for putting America on the same footing as Ireland.

Nov. 6. Lord John Cavendish's motion for a revision of the laws by which the Americans were aggrieved.

1777. Dec. 2. Governor Pownall's plan for a revision of all the laws relative to, and the trade of America.

1778. Feb. 6. Governor Pownall's offer to go to Congress, as a private gentleman, to treat of peace.

1780. May 5. General Conway's bill for quieting the troubles in America.

May 24. Governor Pownall's bill for making peace, truce, or convention, with America.

The debates, at length, upon all these interesting subjects, the reader will find in the Parliamentary Register; from whence the above heads are extracted.

but they were all rejected by the Minister, spurned at, and indignantly treated; yet he himself, in a sort of paroxysm of despair, when the thing was too late, when his power was defeated, and his policy despised, prevailed upon Parliament to send three Commissioners to the Congress, to lay at the feet of that assembly, all those claims of Supremacy, which he had year after year, for several years repeatedly and solemnly assured Parliament, he would establish over all the British Colonies in America.

During his administration a war was commenced, or, rather created, with America, in which we have lost the Provinces of

New Hampshire,
Massachusetts Bay,
Rhode Island,
Connecticut,
New York,
New Jersey,
Pennsylvania,
Delaware Counties,
Maryland,
Virginia,
North Carolina,
South Carolina, and
Georgia.

The money expended upon this criminal war, conducted upon a system of expence never known before, by contractors at New York, and contractors at home; by such a scheme of *double contract* as was sufficient to exhaust the mines of Mexico and Peru,

Peru, has exceeded ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY MILLIONS!

The loss of men in the same criminal war, by the capture of two fine armies, the number of lesser defeats, in fruitless victories, in marauding detachments, and disgraceful expeditions, by the climate, and by captures at sea, upon a very moderate calculation, is upwards of *one hundred and twenty thousand*. Besides arms, cannon, camp equipage, cloathing, money, &c. &c.

The American war gave birth to the war with France, in which we have lost the islands of

Grenada,
St. Vincent,
Dominica,
Tobago,
Nevis,
St. Christophers,
The River Senegal, &c.

The war with France gave birth to a war with Spain, in which we have lost

Florida, and
Minorca ;

which last gives to the House of Bourbon the entire dominion of the Mediterranean.

The American war gave birth also to the war with Holland ; and eventually, to the armed confederacy of the Northern Powers,

E

by

by which our enemies are supplied with naval stores, and our ships are prevented cruising in the Baltic.*

These losses, and diminution of empire, comprise not the whole of our misfortunes, under the late administration. Our domestic distresses have increased, *in pari passu*, with the accumulation of our enemies. The late noble Chancellor of the Exchequer instead of obtaining a revenue from America, which he pretended was the object of the war with that country, though the paltry sum intended to have been raised by the tax upon tea, gave the flattest contradiction to his assertion; he laid the following taxes upon Great Britain, *after* the commencement of the war with America; besides the annual taxes of land, (at four shillings) malt, and lottery.

		£.
1776.	Duty on carriages —	laid at per annum 19,000
	Stamps on newspapers —	18,000
	— cards —	6,000
	— deeds —	30,000
1777.	Male servants —	100,000
	Auctions —	37,500
	Additional stamp duties —	55,000
	Carried over	£. 265,500

* I have not said any thing of the captures at sea, because the *value* of them is not easily ascertained; but taking the *whole* into the consideration; that is, king's ships, armed vessels, merchantmen, traders, &c. the *balance* will be found to be greatly against us.

		£.
	Brought over	265,500
	Additional duties on glafs, <i>laid at per annum</i>	45,000
1778.	House tax	264,000
	Additional duties on wines	72,558
1779.	Five per cent. on excise and customs	318,000
	Post-horses	164,250
1780.	Foreign wines	72,000
	British wines	20,617
	Additional duty on spirits	34,557
	rum	70,958
	brandy	35,310
	malt	310,000
	coals	12,899
	Five per cent. on the preceding seven articles	46,193
	Licences (for tea dealers, &c.)	9,000
	Stamps on legacies	12,000
	Additional duty on advertisements	9,900
	salt	69,000
1781.	Five per cent. on excise	150,000
	Discounts of customs	167,000
	Regulations on paper	100,060
	Sugar	326,000
	Tobacco	61,000
1782.	Small beer	42,000
	Tea licences	48,750
Moved in the Com- mittee by	Soap	104,500
	Tobacco	141,333
	Carried over	£. 2,971,485

Lord North on the 11th of March, 1782.						£.
	Brought over					2,971,485
	Brandy	—	—	—	<i>laid at per annum.</i>	5,000
	Salt	-	-	-	-	60,000
	Medicinal salt	-	-	-	-	5,000
	Insurances	-	-	-	-	100,000
	Stamp on inland bills of exchange	-	-	-	-	50,000
	Playhouses, &c.	-	-	-	-	30,000
	Land and water carriage	-	-	-	-	210,000
Total per annum						<u>3,431,485</u>

Besides these burdens upon the people, exclusive of the sums raised by the land, malt, and lottery every year, and all the old taxes continued, there is a large unfunded debt, which the last Minister has left as a legacy to his successor.* And there is to be taken into the account, some kind of estimate of the late annual advantage; or benefit to this country, arising from the possession, increased and encreasing trade of the Colonies, which are lost. The subject does not admit of a precise estimate; and some capital articles will admit of no estimate at all, as the great nursery for seamen, ship-building, infinity of ordinary labour, &c. yet laying these out of the consideration, and taking only those points into the calculation, which have been known, tangible, clear advantages; the

* Navy debt, eleven millions

Exchequer bills, almost three millions and a half

Debt to the Bank, two millions

There will be the winding up of the war whenever peace is made, the payment for the German troops sent to America, &c.

the estimate, upon the most moderate computation, in the judgment of men of acknowledged great ability and eminent skill in mercantile affairs, is stated at upwards of FIVE MILLIONS, annually.

To this immense loss is to be added, the great diminution of the African trade, of several of the West India islands. The entire loss of the Mediterranean. Together with all the attendant branches of trade and commerce, which are too numerous to be recapitulated.

The stocks (which, as hath before been observed, are the barometer of the state) have been diminished considerably more than one third. Lord North's last value of them when he made his bargain for 1782, with the subscribers, was the three per cents, at fifty-four. The value of land upon an average, it is now about one and two and twenty years purchase. And the poor's rates, owing to the want of employment by the loss of trade, have increased every year with the diminution; thereby laying a very heavy additional weight on the landed property.

As to the fleet which Lord Sandwich has left, it is not proper to be called a fleet, there being very few ships fit for service; and it is more than probable, that if his Lordship's dismissal had been delayed a few weeks longer, the Channel would have been as completely abandoned to the enemy, as the Mediterranean hath been. But in the true spirit of delusion, which hath distinguished his administration throughout, when he found he could no longer insult the distresses of his country with a meretricious laugh, distresses of which he had been a principal author, he put every ship and

vessel in commission, unfit and unfinished, too rotten for the sea, and too soon to be launched, ships that could not swim, and ships that had not their ribs in. It was all the same. All helps to swell the list *upon paper*. His lists to the last moment of his power, have been uniform. They have been like Romeo's apothecaries shop, *a beggarly account of empty boxes*.

By the late Administration, the national character was degraded and debased in every instance of their conduct; whether of war or negotiation. In war, they were cruel and cowardly. In negotiation, they were ignorant, indeterminate, and evasive.

During the late administration, the affairs of Ireland were totally neglected. The war with America involving every part of the empire in difficulties and distresses, Ireland being one of the weakest, became the first affected. But such was the imbecility of Ministers, they were unequal even to the management of the affairs of Ireland. They did not understand them. They affected, for a considerable time, a total indifference to the representations they received, the better to conceal their superlative incapacity. *

Thus

* "This Lord North knows full well; he who knows little more than the price of each man's conscience in the Cock-pit; whose genius never rose higher than some temporary expedient to patch up the business of a session; who feeling himself unequal to the management of a great empire, has pared it down to the measure of his own abilities; and who vainly supposes that if he be found in a majority, he has gained a complete victory; even he found that the poverty of Ireland was a bar to the exercise of his financiering talents, and therefore wished to loose some of her shackles in 1778.

"But the weavers of England, and the pedlars of Scotland, clamoured. That was enough to daunt his mighty spirit. And therefore to gratify Manchester and Glasgow, he became an enemy to Ireland in 1779." See *first Lines of Ireland's true Interest*,

Thus the affairs of Ireland have grown to a most alarming magnitude. The friends of Ireland, resident in that kingdom, viewing

Intestest, page 36. Written by the Rev. Dr. Campbell. Dublin printed by R. Marchbank, in Castle Street.

"The hackneyed topic of Ireland's Independance, I shall not dwell upon. For, though a question of right, it is one so singular, that it cannot be decisively discussed upon paper. The casuists indeed of the British Parliament have declared, "that the King's Majesty, by and with the consent of the Lords &c. &c. hath power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland."* Mr. Mollyneux has nevertheless made it

* This law took its rise from an appeal to the House of Peers in England, by Maurice Annesley, against a decree of the House of Peers in Ireland, which the British House of Peers reversed, and ordered the Barons of the Exchequer in Ireland to cause Mr. Annesley, to be forthwith put in possession of certain lands in the county of Kildare, of which he had been dispossessed by virtue of a decree of the House of Peers of Ireland. Pursuant to this order, the Barons of the Exchequer in that kingdom, issued out an injunction to Alexander Burrows, Sheriff of the County of Kildare, and set several fines upon him for refusing to put it in execution, which the House of Peers in Ireland discharged, and voted that Jeffery Gilbert, Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, John Pocklington, and Sir John St. Leger, the other Barons of the Exchequer in Ireland, had acted in manifest derogation to the King's prerogative, in his High Court of Parliament in Ireland, as also of the rights and privileges of this kingdom, and of the Parliament thereof. These Barons were also ordered to be taken into custody of the Usher of the Black Rod. But the House of Lords in England resolved, that the Barons had acted with courage according to law, in support of his Majesty's prerogative, and with fidelity to the Crown of Great Britain. In this heat, the English Judges were ordered to bring in a bill *for the better securing the Dependence of Ireland*. The bill is said to have been drawn by Mr. Philip Yorke, afterwards Lord Hardwicke, and Lord Chancellor. It passed into a law, and the following is a copy of it.

"Whereas attempts have been lately made to shake off the subjection of Ireland unto, and dependance upon, the Imperial Crown of this realm, which will be of dangerous consequence to Great Britain and Ireland. And whereas the House of Lords in Ireland, in order thereto, have of late, against law, assumed to themselves a power and jurisdiction to examine, correct, and amend the judgments and decrees of the courts of justice in the kingdom of Ireland: Therefore, for the better securing the dependency of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain, may it please your Majesty, that it may be enacted; and it is hereby declared and enacted, by the King's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lord's Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons in this Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said kingdom of Ireland hath been, is, and of right, ought to be, subordinate unto, and dependent upon, the Imperial Crown of Great Britain, as being inseparably united and annexed thereunto; and that the King's Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lord's Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons

ing with horror, the principles and conduct of the Ministers, in the creation and prosecution of the American war, have taken the alarm

it more clear than the fire which burned his book, that the Parliament of Ireland has just as good a right to make laws to bind the kingdom and people of England." *Ibid*, page 50.

"Had this sovereign legislature stopped at *declaratory acts*, England would not have so soon lost so much ground in North America." *Ibid*, page 51.

"But may the question of Ireland's subordination to any legislature but her own, continue for ever a point of mere speculation, rather than that it should, at any time, be decided by the *logick of Kings*." *Ibid*, page 52.

"The mercantile empire, which begins by taking from the connected country her trade, will soon proceed to make very bold attempts upon her liberty. Under pretence of maintaining trade-laws, she will assert in *all* cases, and exercise in *some*, the power of binding internally; and next assume the right of taxing; one infringement will lead to another. Such was the power exercised against America, and denounced against Ireland." *See a Letter to the People of Ireland. By Henry Gratton, Esq. Member of Parliament in Ireland. Page 7 and 8. Dublin Printed for Isaac Coles, in Caple Street.*

"Manchester does not care how economic our government shall be, provided our country does not acquire a trade; the Minister is not anxious about what you may get in trade, provided you support his system of prodigality; and thus does Ireland continue disabled and overburdened, between manufacturing towns maintaining their monopoly, and the Minister vindicating his plunder.

"An opinion attributes our misery to the high letting of land. If this is an evil in Ireland, it is a very deplorable one, beyond the power of human statute to remedy. If the tenantry of Ireland will be satisfied to live upon less than the necessities of life, while in England they insist upon more, we cannot restrain the humility of our people by act of parliament. But if the supposed high letting of land:

mons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, had, hath, and, of right, ought to have, full power and authority to make laws, and statutes of sufficient force and validity, to bind the people and the kingdom of Ireland. And be it farther enacted and declared by the authority aforesaid, that the House of Lords of Ireland, have not, nor of right, ought to have, any jurisdiction to judge of, affirm, or reverse any judgment, sentence, or decree, given or made in any court within the said kingdom; and that all proceedings before the said House of Lords, upon any such judgment, sentence, or decree, are, and are hereby declared to be, utterly null and void, to all intents and purposes whatsoever."

alarm respecting their own privileges and liberties; and have demanded a specific renunciation of certain claims, which had lain dormant

land were the cause of our distress, then it had not been the manufacturers, but the tenantry, who would have been the first and principal sufferers.

" 'Tis true the tenantry did feel and will feel, I fear long, the wretchedness of the last years; not from the exaction of the landlord, but the ruinous contract of the Minister. THE EMBARGO, which lay upon this country for three years like a curse, and is now felt in its effects like a plague! which prevented the tenantry from making any use of their land, and would have rendered any rent an exorbitant one." *Ibid, page 10 and 11.*

"When we speak of the spirit of the people as a thing to be dreaded, we ought not to overlook one very important truth.—The constitution is now reduced to a state in which no public benefit can be obtained, but by the collective body of the people. If we wish to defend our land against a tax, our chance consists in this only, that the influence of the crown shall stand in awe of the clamours of the people. When the majority of those who compose the Legislature, have gotten a complete victory over remorse about conduct and character, there is no restraint but fear; no security, but the interposition of the people." *Ibid, page 48.*

"The association is a measure wonderfully calculated to unite all descriptions of men, and to inspire union." *Ibid, page 53.*

"In opposition to this association, I have heard of but one objection, the danger of provoking England. To know whether this fear is founded, let us consider what we have lost by it. Under this fear we have suffered Magna Charta, and whole volumes of privileges to be infringed. During this fear, his Majesty's Minister in his speech from the throne, on a question whether England was to enforce a power to tax America, declared that he would mention such a power, not only over America, but every part of his dominions; and during this fear an application was made to Ireland to exhort her approbation of such a principle, and another application to spare her troops, to enforce that principle by arms." *Ibid, page 56.*

"That we shall be united against the common enemy will be due to the virtue of Ireland; if we are less active against them it will be due to the conduct of the British Minister and his majority in Parliament; who have left us so little to fight for, so little to expect from their sincerity, and so much to apprehend from their power." *Ibid, page 73.*

dormant during the Whig administrations of George the First, and George the Second; and would not have disturbed the happiness of George the Third, if his Tory Ministers had not sown the seeds of war and jealousy throughout all his dominions.

The affairs of Asia have been trifled with in a manner not less criminal, than those of Ireland. The attention and views of the Ministers never went beyond Leadenhall-street. The number of votes at the India House, like the number of votes in the House of Commons, comprised all their knowledge, all their plans, and all their purposes. This ignorance and inattention, gave scope and opportunity for transacting all kinds of jobs; gave rise to an impolitic and unnecessary war with the Marrattas, which laid the foundation of a confederacy of the Country Powers against us; in a word, for plundering the Provinces in India, and ruining the Company at home.

Let us now reverse the Picture, and see what the other side produces; which will take but a few moments to examine.

St. Lucia taken—and it has been the grave of our army in the West Indies.

St. Eustatius taken—and *retaken*.

Demarare and Iffaquibo taken—and *retaken*.

[As to Pondicherry, it was taken by the orders of the East India Company, without the knowledge of the Ministers.]

Such

Such was the state of the Country when the late Ministers were dismissed from their offices. Such was the contrast between what they found, and what they left. So far from heightening the picture in any part, it is in every part much within the truth. It is but a sketch of some of the principal measures taken or adopted by the late Ministers; and a brief mention of one or two capital neglects. Were every particular to be set down, the Catalogue of blunders and expences, losses and defeats, would fill a volume.

It was time for Parliament, whose confidence the late Ministers had abused, to take the alarm. The country was hastening to destruction. Every man saw it. And though addresses did not come from every part of the kingdom, as they had done in the late reign upon the loss of Minorca, it was not because the people, both within and without the capital, were not convinced of the incapacity and wickedness of the late Ministers; but because the corrupt arts of those Ministers, and the misrepresentations they made of the state of the Country, in the Closet as well as in Parliament, had rendered all addresses and petitions, ineffectual.

The People were reduced to this alternative;—to assume the power of action, in order to save, if salvation was within human reach; or to sit still, in silent patience, till the storm of ruin should burst. The time was awful. Parliament saw the gloom—and critically interposed. Parliament saw the Ministers were incapable; were inadequate to the duties of their offices—they were undeserving of future trust and confidence: they had failed in the performance of every promise they had made; they had broken every engagement; their whole conduct, which had been a series of duplicity,

plicity, was become too palpable to be countenanced, too criminal to be permitted. With indignation, a majority of the House of Commons, including a very large majority of the independent members, refused to give the Ministers any further support. These Gentlemen acted up to their constitutional character, of Guardians and Trustees of the Nation. The greater part of the Ministers had nothing to lose but their salaries; and the greater part of their dependants nothing but their sinecures, douceurs, jobs, and contracts. The gains of all these people encreased with the distresses of the country. Parliament saw that the patrimony of the nation, which seemed to be the only permanent fund now left, was put in competition with the tenure and patronage of office. It was become a struggle between Property and Corruption; aided on one side by consummate ability and wisdom, and on the other by sordid avarice and low cunning. The wonderful talents, and oratory of Mr. Fox, poured conviction on the Skeptic, understanding on the Ignorant, gave ardour to the Indifferent, and decision to the Doubtful. The Treasury trembled at his name through all her classes of venality. His spirit and perseverance roused Parliament from its lethargy; and while he smote Corruption with one hand, he wielded the Democracy of England with the other. The Ministers were compelled to yield. They were obliged to go and acquaint the King they had lost the confidence of Parliament—that Parliament would no longer support them.

On the 20th of March, Lord North came to the House of Commons to make a declaration, that he and his colleagues were no longer Ministers. But no sooner was one difficulty removed, than another presented itself; this was — Who had *courage* to succeed them?

There

There is no doubt but that the Court might, without much difficulty, have formed an administration of *second* and *third rate* men, like the last, who would have taken the responsible offices, and permitted the Interior Cabinet, consisting of Mr. Jenkinson, and *his* coadjutors, to continue as before. Neither is there a doubt, that *such* a change would have been most agreeable. A Double Cabinet had been the favourite System of the Court for several years. It is the nature of man, when arrived at a certain age, to leave his habits with reluctance; and of all habits that of power, or the fancy of having power, is left with the greatest. To form a Ministry, and *preserve* the favourite habit of the Court, was not impracticable, but to gain the Confidence of the House of Commons by *such* a Ministry, was totally IMPOSSIBLE! The System had been exploded. It was universally known and reprobated. It was unconstitutional. The Cabal of Charles the Second laid the foundation of the expulsion of James the Second, and the consequent introduction of the House of Brunswick.

Necessity, dire necessity, obliged the Court to resort to the Whigs. I will not be particular, because the subject is delicate. But there can be no impropriety in saying, and truth requires it, That the Answer of the Whigs was made with that decency and demeanour, which have ever marked their character. The warmest friend of Hierarchy must admire the respect shewn in it, and the most extravagant Independent must honour their firm adherence to the spirit of the constitution. The Court took courage; that bugbear of nonsense, with which they had been threatened, they now found had no existence; it was a cheat invented by the last Ministers. It was now apparent, that the object of the Whigs was the Public Welfare; not the Captivity of the Crown.

H

There

There was a noble generosity, an exalted spirit of Patriotism, which a grateful posterity will be in love with praising, in the Whigs accepting the government of the Country, at a time, when by the mismanagements of the late Ministry, it was reduced to the most abject and humiliated condition.—After the losses of whole Provinces, and islands; all the defeats, and captures, which are deeply imprinted upon every man's memory; an impoverished exchequer, a ruined marine, a people unnerved by misfortune, and oppressed by taxation. Such a situation was enough to make the stoutest man tremble. And that such was the situation in which the late Ministry left us, notwithstanding they found us, when they were appointed Ministers, the most happy and flourishing people upon earth, is notorious, not only to all ourselves, but to the whole world.

There is a virtue, or a wickedness, in accepting the government of a Country in such a situation, as the history of the world cannot parallel. The act admits of no medium in principle. It must be superlatively good, or superlatively bad. If it is bad, there must be a temptation; a prospect, at least, of reward. No man, or set of men, will undertake a bad thing, in which there can be no honour, without the expectation of reward. What reward can be obtained from defeat of armies, diminution of empire, and decrease of wealth? But fortunately for the Whigs, notwithstanding every engine had been used for a series of years, in circulating the most villainous calumnies on their characters, and now stood ready to continue the infernal work; there was at this time, a *criterion* to judge of the principle, without listening to the assertions, or declarations of either themselves, or their enemies. If reward had been their object in their acceptance of office, at this most hazard-
ous

ous and perilous moment, we should not have seen Mr. Jenkinson and Lord Stormont dismissed as preliminaries, nor Lord Rockingham and Lord Shelburne negotiated with as principals. These facts are such public banners of an Independent Administration, that no suspicion of interest, nor slander of their enemies, can fasten upon them, with the least colour or pretence, the charge of any dishonourable motive or design. The virtuous men of Greece and Rome furnish figures, which fill up but the back ground of the canvas: a mighty empire torn to pieces, surrounded by powerful enemies, rescued from destruction, just as the Leviathan, Corruption, was ready to devour her, will to all ages occupy and fill the first.

The virtue of their private characters, their acknowledged abilities, and the indisputable purity of their conduct when last in office, all warrant a favourable construction, in the first instance. But when the inflexible perseverance they have shewn against the ruinous measures of the late administration; their steady adherence to certain great constitutional points, notwithstanding repeated attempts, almost numberless, which have been made to divide them, are recollected; and that at last they made those points *their conditions*; it must be obvious and convincing to every man, that it was the Nation, the Public, and not themselves, which were the objects of their attention: that they have accepted of ardour, anxiety, difficulty, exertion, and responsibility, with the same view, and in the same manner, except that one is in some degree compulsory, and the other wholly voluntary, that the gallant soldier forsakes his ease, when the necessity of his country calls, and risks not only his life, but his reputation, which is dearer to him than life, in defence of her cause, her honour, and her existence.

They

They accommodated their own arrangements with a mutual and overbearing friendship, at a time when the public distresses had been augmented, had been encreased to such a wanton and unnecessary extent, as no indolence, no negligence, no ignorance, can justify.

The dawns of their penetration are seen before they are warm in their seats. The Public take confidence in the rectitude of their measures, in their vigilance, and in their wisdom.

Ireland will treat with the present Ministers. The amiable manners, Whig principles, and hereditary purity of the Duke of Portland, seem like the former William, of the House of Orange, to be destined to restore the happiness, and lustre of Ireland. To his virtue and good sense, supported by the wisdom and energy of the Ministers at home, we may hope for the recovery and deliverance of our Sister Kingdom; who though in the regal titles is last named, is not least in love.

Russia and Holland will likewise treat with the present Ministers. But nobody would treat with the last. All Europe saw they had no power; that they were only the ostensible puppets of an irresponsible Cabal.

Our happiness at this moment is, that not only our own countrymen see, but that *foreigners are also convinced*, that the present Ministers are under no Secret Controul. They are superior to it.—The odious, unconstitutional and criminal system of a Double Cabinet, is broken up, and done away. That dark temporizing Cabinet of power, which was always equivocal, irresolute, and evasive,
and

and which rendered our Court despicable in the judgment of other nations, and detestable in our own, is exploded and banished, it is hoped for ever. The *present* Ministers of Great Britain are constitutional ; they are the Authors and Advisers of their own measures. The omen of foreign communication is favourable, it is auspicious, and whether a peace with Holland succeeds or not, the change of system already shews, that the respectable names alone of the new Ministers, have recovered our rank among the nations ; which by the late Ministers had been debased, abandoned, obscured and obliterated. This is an advantage, and an honour, which are not to be ascribed to any act in office, for they have not been long enough in office to see the effect of any ; but solely to the high estimation in which their characters stand abroad. It is an estimation founded upon experienced merit and excellence. When foreigners acknowledge such ability, who are in general not partial to us, the example must give weight and confirmation to our own judgments ; and raise, in our minds, the estimation of those merits, because we are the people who are to profit by them.

In our service we see engaged,

The inflexible purity and virtue of the Marquis of Rockingham.

The great political knowledge and sound judgment of the Earl of Shelburne.

The spontaneous and perfect sagacity of Mr. Fox.

The patriot spirit, and ardour of the Duke of Richmond.

The constitutional learning and integrity of Lord Camden.

His lordship's approved, improving, and enobled disciple, Lord Ashburton.

The scientific and professional skill of Lord Keppel.

The brilliant talents and amiable urbanity of Mr. Burke.

The signal union of the whole House of Cavendish.

With a long train of Peers and Commoners, Generals, and Admirals, returning with zeal to the Public Standard, because they are confident of meeting with the support and the fidelity of office.

If human wisdom, if acknowledged ability, if unimpeached virtue, and almost unexampled patriotism and heroism, ever deserved the confidence of a Nation, this combination, this assemblage of the brightest and purest gems in the British diadem, merit all the protection that a generous public can grant, and all the support that a people, snatched from ruin, can give.

An INDEPENDENT WHIG.

April 15, 1782.

LATE

LATE MINISTERS.

Lord North appointed January, 1770.

Lord Hillsborough, November, 1779.

Lord Stormont, October, 1779.

Mr. Ellis, February, 1782.

Lord Bathurst, November, 1779.

Lord Dartmouth, November, 1775.

Lord Hertford, December, 1776.

Lord Sandwich, December, 1770.

Lord Carlisle, October, 1780.

Lord Amherst, June, 1779.

Lord Townshend, October, 1772.

Lord Clarendon, June, 1771.

Mr. Rigby, June, 1768.

Mr. Jenkinson, June, 1778.

EXTRAVAGANCE and COR-
RUPTION.

INTERIOR CABINET.

PRESENT MINISTERS.

Appointed in April, 1782.

Marquis of Rockingham.

Lord John Cavendish.

Mr. Fox.

Lord Shelburne.

Lord Camden.

Duke of Grafton.

Duke of Manchester.

Lord Keppel

Duke of Portland.

General Conway.

Duke of Richmond.

Lord Ashburton

Mr. Burke.

Mr. T. Townshend.

OECONOMY and RE-
FORMATION.

ABOLISHED.

F I N I S.